The Past is Present—Off Canonical Interpretations of History in American Life Narratives[1]

Mónika Fodor

Introduction

"My father and I would go there, just the two of us on occasion. But it was like a transition to a different time and culture, because in South Bend they [Peter's paternal relatives] lived at that time in a primarily Hungarian neighborhood ..." (Peter Hevesi[2]). Travelling from Michigan to Indiana for Peter meant being recast in space as well as time, an encounter neither unusual nor imaginary for his ancestors. As a second- or third generation ethnic American, he is only one or two generations away from the relocation experience frequently narrativized while visiting with South Bend relatives. During these trips the past blends with the present and the stories of migration envisage the process of leaving behind a space that is encircled with well-known boundaries in a historical, geographical, linguistic, cultural, psychological, and anthropological sense. These life histories often connect to larger historical trajectories which play an essential role in ethno-cultural identity construction. In this paper I discuss personal narratives elicited in 28 qualitative interviews with ten second- and third-generation Hungarian-Americans[3] regarding the meanings of history in their

[1] I acknowledge the precious financial support that I received from the Fulbright Commi ssion and the Soros Foundation, without which I could not have carried out this researc h.

[2] Peter Hevesi is one of the ten second- and third-generation Hungarian Americans I inte rviewed about their ethno-cultural identity in 2001 and 2005. I talked to him in April, 2001. At the time of the interviews, Peter Hevesi worked at the University of Iowa as head of the human resources department. He did not know whether his father had been born in Hungary or in the United States.

[3] All participants signed a statement of consent to avoid any violation of personal rights and to clarify the overall goals and conditions of the data collection procedures. Nine o

ethnicity. The stories that my conversational partners told about American, Hungarian and in some cases world history illustrate how the historical elements and icons of the individual's culture create a unique ethno-cultural identity and community. Besides personal history most immigrants cherish, tell and attempt to hand down the wider historical circumstances and events that influenced them in their decision to relocate. Narratives shift the focus of history from texts to interpreters and historical culture thus becomes a story created by participants rather than something read or viewed by them. Stories about historical events create and maintain communities as well as ethno-cultural identities in specific ways that allow several interpretations and recontextualizations. Applying methods of narrative and conversational analysis the paper explores the narratives about major historical events and sees to unfold the double narrative structure that support ethno-cultural identity construction.

Assimilation, history and narrative

In a classic functionalist approach assimilation embraces the expectation that "minority groups would inevitably want to shed their own cultures as if these were old skins no longer possessing any vital force and wrap themselves in the mantle of Anglo-American culture" (Alba and Nee 3). Such approach posits the orthodoxy of ethnicity as static and "fixed by categorical ascriptions based in assumed homogeneous national and cultural experience and membership" (Drzewiecka and Nakayama 21). This overwhelming image assumed an unproblematic division of ethnic groups by national borders which immigration broke and left rupture and disjunction in its wake. Ethnicity within the context of discourse, narrative, and language triggers an understanding of assimilation that "does not require the disappearance of ethnicity; and the individuals undergoing it still bear a number of ethnic markers" (Alba and Nee 11). Accordingly, there is no final stage of the process of incorporation into American society, as the description of ethnic shift resists the single continuum model. Society not only tolerates but also encourages the various ethno-cultural formations that appear; none of which is elevated into normative position (Alba and Nee 11; Barkan 10–11). Individuals do not have to disclaim their cultural values or give up their ancestral ethnic

f them indicated that they wanted their real names used in any published material base d on the interviews. One person who refused consent is referred to by a pseudonym.

identities, thus their ethno-cultural identification becomes bidirectional (Pham and Harris 280).

Multiple discourses on the universality of narrative have become paradigmatic (Abbott; Bruner, *Actual*; Ryan). In Roland Barthes's frequently cited nonetheless still intensely influential words: "It begins with the very history of mankind and there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative. ... Narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural: it is simply there, like life itself" (251–52). Thus, the genre frame it offers makes narrative an optimal tool to examine the discursive construction of ethno-cultural identity. It encapsulates individual experiences into which the personal and cultural environments are deeply ingrained linguistically, rhetorically and with regard to content. Conversational narratives shift the focus of the story from texts to interpreters, who are the storytellers in this case. Historical culture becomes a story, based on cultural memory, created by participants rather than something read or viewed by them, often with the purpose to bring forth a highly notable point of reference on the cultural landscape. Cultural memory has its sources in traditions, shared stories, and written texts (Assmann 6–8), and goes back to the roots of the group, encodes the most important events into narratives, and preserves them in this form. Traditions, Assmann holds, are a special case of communication in which knowledge is exchanged vertically from one generation to the other rather than reciprocally or horizontally (8). In this process symbol and memory are in continuous interaction, which plays out on every level. Characters of these stories are real-life people who assimilate to the canonical norms and values of a particular ethnic culture through narratives, while narratives themselves make ethno-cultural values normative. Each ethno-culturally distinguishable community has its historically crystallized stories, which the individual may tell and interpret from distinct viewpoints. Individuals may create different stories regarding the same event, yet the common culture hosts potential narrative frames. Narrative is a contextualized way of presenting memory sites, which by means of its specific handling of time, space and authorship also contextualizes the individuals as members of the community. Cultural memory is shaped and personalized in individual stories, and once the group approves these stories, the narratives carry cultural memory. Thus, historical-cultural memory and its narratives help frame ethno-cultural identity of both the individual and the group.

Besides personal history, many immigrants carry, tell and attempt to hand down the wider historical circumstances and events that influenced them in their decision to relocate. Narratives shift the focus of history from texts to interpreters, and historical culture becomes a story created by participants rather than something read or viewed by them. Stories about historical events create and maintain communities and thus ethno-cultural identities (Assmann 1–12; Rosenzweig and Thelen 199). Immigrants decide to leave behind a group of people with a widely acclaimed archive of historico-cultural narratives and create a new community based on selected items from that archive. As the particular incidents are reinterpreted, and recontextualized in narratives the new group will have its own interpretations of the history. For newcomers in a distinct geographical, political, historical and cultural arena, acculturation opens up a new archive of historical-cultural narratives. Thus, the experience of liminality refers to an access to two distinctive archives of narratives, which help construct the changing ethno-cultural identity.

The individual ethnic experiences of liminality connect ethnocultural identity to historical time and emphasize its spatiality. The storied experience of immigrant parents and grandparents about their involvement in major historical events in the ancestral homeland brings about a specific archive of historical narratives, in which characters often also stage archetypal images. Second- and third-generation descendants construct a sense of history by narrating and sometimes investigating those episodes, unpack and pass on the meaning of archetypes. In this context, the ethnically demarcated status of liminality creates and maintains individual interpretations as well as the canonical portrayal of historical events regarding the ancestral homeland. Knowing history provides an understanding of the ancestor group's existence in time and space; it constructs the descendant group in meta-narratives, which unfold from the personal stories. In the interviews, analyzed in this paper, World War II and the 1956 revolution in Hungary recurred most often and helped set the historical story frame for interviewees to explain the concept of liminality in their ethno-cultural identity.

The stories that are analyzed in this part of the paper were collected in 2001–2005 in the USA and Hungary, in personal interviews with second- and third-generation Hungarian-Americans. The interviews are qualitative, without any preset list of questions, mostly focusing on the life story of the conversational partners. To look at narratively constructed meanings of history I considered only the stories that narrative analysis

classifies as Labovian prototypical narratives. A functional prerequisite of narrative in this approach is that it is "one of constructing narrative units which match the temporal sequence of [an] experience" (Labov and Waletzky 3). I looked at how these stories of individual participants connected along themes, linguistic and rhetorical devices to create a wider meta-narrative frame of being American and ethnic. In this paper I argue that the meta-narrative frame of ethno-cultural identity construction operates within the principles of chaos and complexity theory, which not only allows for bidirectional acculturation and makes assimilation nonfinite but also explains how ethnic shift can be a two-way process regardless of the number of generations from the once immigrating ancestors.

Rather than inserting them in artificially established categories, narrative accounts negotiate identities. Their dynamic and context-based nature is best discussed within a chaos/complexity perspective. Complex systems are dynamic and nonlinear, proceeding temporarily and spatially (Larsen-Freeman 33–38; Smith; Waldrop). The chaos and complexity approach interprets the interrelationship of the parts of the system to understand features that would not be revealed by studying the individual parts. For the narrative construction of liminality three key properties of chaos/complexity systems are significant. (1) Constituents interact with one another and function as a self-organizing system; this interrelationship characterizes all levels. Likewise, members of a group are authors and narrators of several stories regarding their liminality; these converge toward, and strengthen, a shared meta-narrative that emerges because of group cohesion. (2) Elements of a chaos/complexity system build networks which offer a framework to interpret membership sustainability in loosely structured ethnic communities. The narrative liminality of participants is a set of dynamic and variable interactions that often lack temporal and spatial linearity. If the quantity of interactions is not optimal, the group cannot be held together. Thus, as the result of collective thinking, well-rounded, refined, and settled stories have a crucial role in regulating interactions on a community level. (3) Taking various narrative forms, complex systems themselves exist in the state of liminality, a key element of ethno-cultural identity among second- and third-generation Hungarian-Americans.

Hungary 101—meanings and uses of history

In the case of narrating history that immigrating parents or grandparents experienced, a double narrative structure unfolds. The children or grandchildren recount the story of their parents and ancestors and the two narratives are built on one another. Narratives representing life in a culture also describe the particular culture (Bruner, *Life* 694; Hoffman 3). Reciprocity exists between the community creating narratives and the narratives maintaining and recreating the community. Thus, the life-stories of immigrants who participate in major historical events carry archetypal patterns as to the involvement of these people, and become meta-narratives of the particular episodes in history. These meta-narratives provide the structure of the stories that second-generation Hungarian-Americans told in relation to the role of their ancestors in Hungarian and world history. Individual and national histories intertwine in the experiences of second-generation Hungarian-Americans especially in the lives of those who had to leave Hungary due to some political event such as World War II or the abortive revolution of 1956.

Józsi Temesvári told a number of stories about his paternal grandparents, "sovány nagymama" and "sovány nagypapa" and their life during World War II. In the narrative I quote here Józsi tells about the role of his grandfather in World War II, and it becomes to exemplify a larger historical trajectory as well as the family's involvement in it.

1 Grandfather never talked about it. My dad talked about it. He's already seen what
2 his father went through. So he would explain things to us sometimes. Not all the
3 times. My father wouldn't even talk about it sometimes. 'Cause he has seen the
4 concentration camps as a young child.[…]
5 There was a few here in Hungary, and he's also seen the one in Austria, my
6 father. And my grandfather was also one of those individuals that tried to, was on
7 the plot that was trying to kill Hitler. The Germans were getting close to him.
8 You know this was all started to come out and the Russians were coming from

9 the other direction. So he had a decision to make. My grandfather didn't believe
10 in killing innocent lives. You know Jewish people. He was against that from the
11 first day. He did not understand why they would do that. And he himself said
12 Hitler was Nazi, before he got really deep the way out in the left field. The
13 generals were in that. All the generals Germans and Hungarians knew that. It was
14 just a matter of time. Before the war would end and they were on the losing
15 side. They knew that. They knew it was gonna be a losing battle 'cause he was,
16 Hitler was in charge. It's something you wouldn't imagine people could do to
17 other people. Yeah, even pictures don't tell. But to actually experience that, to
18 live through it. That's something different. (Temesvári)

World War II is one of the biggest thrusts of history in the twentieth century if indeed not the biggest. Józsi's grandfather not only participated in the war, but served as a key military leader (line 13) and he was familiar with what happened at the front as well as outside the combat area (lines 1-2). He was one of the highest-ranking generals and had an important role in ending the war before it was too late. The coup against Hitler is canonical history (lines 6-7), as well as the Russian occupation of Hungary (lines 8-9). Consequently, the grandparents had no other choice but leave their native Hungary and gained the status of displaced persons. In the United States of America the family kept together and they spoke Hungarian amongst themselves, however, could not do much to continue with their former life.

This story tells the strong historical influence on the family, setting a value system that has not ebbed with the loss of immigrant status. The intimate presence of large-scale history makes it very hard for second- or even third-generation members of the family to become only children of their time; they remain actors and observers in canonical history. Lines 1-3 indicate that the experience was too powerful for the grandfather to be able to give firsthand account to his grandchildren, but even for the father

it was too hard to talk about it frequently. The phrase: "not all the times" (lines 2-3) show that family members, especially children would be hungrier for information about the grandfather's involvement in the war; however, these facts were too heavy to become over-the-table sagas. Deciphering the meaning of the grandparents' wartime involvement contextualizes family experiences historically and casts them in American society as first-generation Hungarian-Americans. Remembering is a strong aspect of liminal existence and forgetting is a strategy to personalize history to individual needs. Józsi finds this part of his heritage so excitingly enigmatic that he continues to try and find out what actually happened back then, so he does not only remember but aims at creating and reinterpreting by putting together the missing parts of the puzzle. The theme of participating in World War II recurs during the interviews and becomes a cultural icon (Rubin and Rubin 176-77) that evokes attitudes relative to core values and norms. Due to the grandparents' involvement in World War II immigrant status and ethnicity become a source of pride and uniqueness that cannot be stepped over without an attempt to interpret and personalize. Family members circulate and hand down the stories thus maintaining a liminal position that Józsi identifies with in the narrative.

Taking a closer look at the language of the family experience reported speech seems a very important linguistic device that highlights the narrator's evaluation of the events. The story opens with the description of the terrors of World War II, which are too much even to recount. Józsi shifts to reported speech as the peak of the story approaches (lines 11–12). Reported speech is a strategy of interpreting the particularities of the story world within the storytelling world since narrators are part of the latter within which they invoke the former (De Fina 95–96). It is also a technique that points to the dichotomy of the implied author v. the narrator (Virágos 107). The short and matter-of-fact report of how Józsi's grandfather rejected Hitler and his war (lines 9–12) describes him as a strong and powerful person whose decisions are not questioned. The short sentences in which Józsi evokes the views and attitude of his "sovány nagypapa" [thin grandpa] also reflect his determination (Temesvári). The tension of the situation is best rendered through the dynamics of reporting some words of the grandfather (lines 11–12) instead of simply describing his life and choices. The shift from description to reporting fragments of the dialogue is the linguistic expression of the meta-narrative in Józsi's story. The device allows the

archetypal story frame about World War II come to the surface and brings together the two narrative perspectives.

According to the history of Hungarian immigration in the U.S.A. the 1956 revolution in Hungary and the consequent Soviet military occupation triggered the third wave of migration. Participation in the revolution often brought about the must to leave Hungary to avoid imprisonment or vigilantic death penalty. Endre told the story of how his parents, then newly weds, left Hungary in 1956 as "they found no hope in staying" (Szentkirályi). Thus, he positions himself as part of the community that fifty-sixers or freedom fighters established upon emigration.

1 My father's sister died in the fighting, she was a nurse. My father had spent
2 time in prison, thirteen months for organizing a strike in '54, '53 thereabouts,
3 and they just decided to go and left everything behind. Went across. My father
4 had been born in Győr, so he said he was going to visit his mother but, and she
5 was in Budapest so that was a lie but that was OK. And they walked across the
6 border and then got on a plane. (Szentkirályi)

The narrative appeared at the beginning of our first conversation. The 1956 revolution is the cause for relocation and Endre proves the fact that his parents had no other choice no matter how they felt towards their homeland. The opening lines describe the circumstances in which individual lives are taken without much afterthought. Klára Szentkirályi, Endre's aunt is killed, and his father served more than a year in jail. Under such circumstances, even telling a lie is forgivable (line 5) as retaliation threatened the immediate life of Endre's father. The story is told very simply, there are no extensive descriptions just mere facts chosen from a number of episodes, how young Ödön Szentkirályi participated actively (line 2) in the events that led to the revolutionary attempt to overthrow the totalitarian rule of the early 1950s Hungary. Such straightforward presentation of the facts shows that the story is a deeply engrained part of family psyche. It is iconic not only because 1956

is a historical-cultural icon for Hungarians but also because the events described construct individual history.

The opening scene is a matter-of-fact report of the death of the aunt (line 1), which justifies the decision to emigrate and save their lives rather than die or languish in jail. Description of the lie (line 5) is a turning point in the narrative, as telling a lie becomes a way of escaping from a corrupt regime yet its chronicling emphasizes the honesty of the protagonist. To describe this moment Endre switched to using reported speech (line 4–5). The device brings the story world into the storytelling world and Endre's father becomes involved in the narrative. This is the point when his original narrative, with the archetypal patterns of 1956 participation, unfolds. The historical event of the revolution is the event around which participants organize part of their life narrative. Expressions signifying the archetypal refugee, such as the freedom fighter, death in the family due to participation in the fighting, and having to escape the totalitarian regime construct the meta-narrative of 1956 among Hungarian-Americans.

These meta-narratives become a very powerful device of community building as well, which can be modeled with the concepts of nonlinearity and dynamic systems of the chaos and complexity theories. Reporting the words of the father emphasizes the act that he did not tell the truth but the historical circumstances justify him. The narrator has the opportunity to formulate his opinion and deflect responsibility (De Fina 96) based on a narrative experience. A profound understanding of 1956 absolves the lie and the fact of leaving one's homeland and provides an insight into the wider socio-cultural circumstances in which the episode of the narrative takes place.

Narrating parental participation in 1956 not only locates Endre as a Hungarian-American but it also becomes a source of empowerment (McAdams, *Coding Autobiographical* 7). The participation of Endre's father in the 1956 revolution makes him a figure of authority on 1956 and he is able to guide and assist his children in their development of Hungarian ethno-cultural identity. The story breaks the linear sequence of time and develops a specific temporal arrangement to create discourse that can articulate both strings of actions and events and their human contexts and meanings (Bruner, *Life* 691–93; Dauenhauer 10; Ricoeur, *Oneself* 147–48). Nonlinear narrative time starts with the death in 1956 (line 1), continues with the strike and imprisonment in 1953 or 1954 (lines 1–2), and ends with emigration in 1956 (lines 5–6). Death

disintegrates the family and emigration is a consequence because the members are stained as participants in the revolution. In order to avoid more deaths in the family emigration seems a necessary choice. Even though the basic narrative units recapitulate experience in an order slightly different from the original events, it does not disturb the narrative construct, since as a device it has an important meaning. Thus, fading real time into narrative time illustrates and justifies the decision to migrate.

Identity construction in narratives happens through negotiating personal and social roles that actors assume in the stories (De Fina 20). The protagonists are Endre's aunt and father, and Endre's role as a narrator is to remember and be able to report authentically and keep the memories alive and pass them on. In a later conversation, Endre switches back to the previous story and talks about how his background and experience of 1956 makes him more knowledgeable and well-rounded as a teacher thus, gives justification of fulfilling the role of the narrator. The story involves another person, Endre's grandfather who also faced hardships due to the emigration of his two sons.

1 Probably I have a better understanding, I don't have firsthand but second hand
2 understanding of Eastern European communism and totalitarianism in terms of I
3 can drop a comment you know like: "Yeah, my dad did time for organizing a
4 one-day strike." Or my grandfather was forced to go out of the city on every
5 national holiday or he did time because his two kids went to America. And his
6 daughter was killed in the Revolution. So he did about a year as well as time for that. (Szentkirályi)

A sense of history requires proper narration and Endre uses the knowledge of family history (line 3) contextualized into larger historical trajectories. A specific order of events sets a distinctive narrative time in this episode as well. Emigration of the boys, Ödön and András is told first, then the death of the daughter Klári. According to the narrative, Endre's grandfather was harassed more because of the leave of his sons than the death of his daughter. Such stories of his parents' escape provide

a solid background to a second-generation Hungarian-American and serves as a source of empowerment in the émigré community.

Second-hand understanding of totalitarian regimes, (lines 1–2) positions Endre as a survivor in the sense that their generation was born because their parents could escape death. Eszti Pigniczky resumed the feeling and meaning of being the second-generation survivors of 1956.

1 És hogy mi tulajdonképpen, ez az ’56 égisze alatt nőttünk
fel Amerikában.
2 Akármennyire hangoztatva volt vagy nem volt hangoztatva
ez a téma. Mi annak
3 a gyerekei vagyunk, vagy annak a történelmi pillanatnak a
gyerekei vagy
4 áldozatai. Mi azért születtünk ott, ahol születtünk, mert
volt egy ötvenhat. (Pigniczky)

Eszti uses this argumentative narrative to persuade the hearer towards understanding the conclusion that the mere existence of the people born into freedom fighter families maintains a distinctive ethnic community (line 3–4). The prolonged existence of this community depends on ability of the members to narrate and pass on the experience as objectively as possible. Eszti tells her viewpoint in Hungarian to emphasize her belonging to this particular group. Children of 1956 immigrants, Endre, Eszti, as well as other conversational partners in the project, talked about the difficult and often adventurous escape of their parents or grandparents, which they unanimously find important to understand and know about. Eszti even told how she and her sister Réka[4] went out to investigate the paternal accounts of the Royal Szálló csoport in October 1956 to make a documentary film. They had the oral history and no concrete facts to support it. Eszti said, “the nicest part of it is realizing that the stories that he told were all real. […] And then to find the concrete information about that story that he told was amazing” (Pigniczky). With this claim, Eszti assumes the social role of the investigator and narrator at the same time. Before she is able to tell the proper story, she has to go out and find out about the facts. Historical archives provide objective information, which appropriates her not only

[4] Pignicky Réka, the director of two autobiographical documentary films, *Hazatérés [Ho mecoming*] and *Incubator*

as a knowledgeable person in the family but also as an authentic source of concrete historical understanding.

However, bringing the topic into public is often a source of misunderstandings.

1 És sokszor fáj is ez a téma, mert Magyarországnak bizonyos rétege nem szereti a
2 külföldi magyarokat. És akkor mi mindig megkapjuk, hogy hazajövünk. Akkor ez
3 úgy a rokonok között, mint baráti körben néha való, nehéz témává válik, hogy na
4 ti elmentetek, mi meg itt maradtunk című. Ez a kettőnk közötti különbség. (Pigniczky)

The position is disputed and frequently attacked by those who chose and could stay in Hungary (lines 2–4). Even relatives feel that it was easier to leave Hungary than to stay and survive physically and morally (lines 3–4), which makes it harder to hear the true voices. Eszti describes the tension (line 3) that she feels palpable between Hungarians living abroad and in Hungary in the second half of the episode. Her attitude of being well-informed and knowledgeable helps bridge this gap as she talked about her relatives accepting their approach.

Conclusion

The narratives I quoted give an account of personal involvement in major historical events in the ancestral homeland and the stories identify characters through positioning them relative to these experiences. The direct involvement of parents and grandparents creates a distinctive archive of historical narratives and their second- and third-generation descendants construct a sense of history through assuming the role of the narrator as well as investigator. Thus, the distinctive status of liminality or borderland existence refers to an active participation in creating and maintaining a strong sense of history regarding the ancestral homeland. Knowing history provides an understanding of the group's existence in time and proves the acceptance of existing meta-narratives, which are built into the personal stories. Such individual interpretations may be slightly different from the canonical portrayal of historical events due to

their nature as narratives, yet the primary goal of the narration is to be lifelike (Bruner, *Actual* 13), thus render the real life character of ethnicity.

The abstract perspective of chaos and complexity theory offers a wide interaction-based perspective on the dynamics of the narrative construction of ethno-cultural identity. Individual stories exhibit how immigrant—and descendant—tales connect without the authors necessarily knowing one another. The opinions and views they put forth about Hungarian and world history converge toward a meta-narrative that contains the discursive features of being Hungarian-American. Moving from individual narratives to a system of interactions between episodes and characterizations opens up and builds a broad dialogical framework that constructs and maintains this community. In what can be considered a negotiating process, seemingly random links relate single narratives and construct the meta-narrative. Because of their dynamics narratives always assume a certain audience that is invited to participate in the imaginary dialogue of constructing the nonfinite story of ethnic shifts. Thus, ethno-cultural duality is, according to Eszti Pignicky, "not something questioned, it's part of your life."

Works Cited

Abbott, H. Porter. *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003. Print.

Alba, Richard and Victor Nee. *Remaking the American Mainstream. Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2003. Print.

Assmann, Jan. *Religion and Cultural Memory*. Trans. Rodney Livingstone. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2005. Print.

Barkan, Elliott R. "Introduction: Immigration, Incorporation, Assimilation, and the Limits of Transnationalism." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 25.2–3 (2006): 7–32. Print.

Barthes, Roland. "Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives." Ed. Susan Sontag. A Barthes Reader. New York: Hill and Wang, 2001. 251–95. Print.

Bruner, Jerome. *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*. Harvard UP: Cambridge, MA, 1986. Print.

——. "Life as Narrative." 1987. *Social Research* 71.3 (2004): 691–711. 4 December 2006.

<http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mim2267/is371/ain6364150/print>. Web.

Dauenhauer, Bernard. "Paul Ricoeur." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Ed. Edward N. Zalta. The Metaphysics Research Lab. Center for the Study of Language and Information. 17 December 2006. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ricoeur/#3.4>. Web.

Drzewiecka, Jolanta A. and Thomas K. Nakayama. "City Sites: Postmodern Urban Space and the Communication of Identity." *The Southern Communication Journal* 64 (1998): 20–31. Print.

De Fina, Anna. *Identity in Narrative. A study of immigrant discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003. Print.

Fodor, Monika. "My Slice of Americana. Hungarian-Americans Construct Their Ethno-Cultural Identity in Narratives." Diss. U of Pécs, 2007. Print.

Hoffman, Eva. "Life Stories, East and West." *Yale Review* 88.1 (2000): 1–19. Print.

Labov, William and Joshua Waletzky. "Narrative analysis. Oral versions of personal experience." Ed. Michael Bamberg. *Oral Versions of Personal Experience: Three Decades of Narrative Analysis. Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7 (1997): 3–38. Web.

Larsen-Freeman, Diane. "Language acquisition and language use from a chaos/complexity theory perspective." *Language Acquisition and Language Socialization. Ecological Perspectives*. Ed. Claire Kramsch. London: Continuum, 2002. 33–46. Print.

McAdams, Dan P. "Coding Autobiographical Episodes for Themes of Agency and Communion." 2001. *The Foley Center for the Study of Lives: Instruments*. Northwestern University. School of Education and Social Policy. 12 January 2007. <http://www.sesp.northwestern.edu/docs/Agency-Communion01.pdf>. Web.

Pham, Thuy B. and Richard J. Harris. "Acculturation strategies among Vietnamese-Americans." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 25.3 (2001): 279–300. Print.

Pigniczky, Eszter. *Personal interview* 1–3. April–May, 2005.

Ricoeur, Paul. *Oneself as Another*. Trans. Kathleen Blaney. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1994. Print.

Rosenzweig, Roy and David Thelen. *The Presence of the Past. Popular Uses of History in American Life*. New York: Columbia UP, 1998. Print.

Rubin, Herbert J. and Irene S. Rubin. *Qualitative Interviewing. The Art of Hearing Data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995. Print.

Ryan, Marie-Laure. "Toward a definition of narrative." Ed. David Herman. *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2010. 22–35. Print.

Smith, Leonard A. Chaos. A Very Short Introduction. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007. Print.

Szentkirályi, Endre. *Personal interview* 1–3. April-May, 2005.

Temesvári, József. *Personal interview* 1–2. May-December, 2005.

Virágos, Zsolt. *The Modernists and Others. The American Literary Culture in the Age of the Modernist Revolution*. 3rd ed. Debrecen: Institute of English and American Studies, U of Debrecen, 2008. Print.

Waldrop, Mitchell M. *Complexity. The emerging science at the edge of order and chaos*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992. Print.